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to preserve the purity of chiefly blood. Cross-cousin marriage, which will be discussed below, was rather for economic reasons than to perpetuate the purity of descent.

The most common mode of forming alliances between tribes was through the affiancing and marriage of the children of chiefs. Connected with these alliances were rites, elaborate ceremonial, and rules regulating the relationship.

Inheritance

Both in the northern and in the southern sections of the group inheritance of the position and rights of a chief or chiefess was always by the first-born child, whether male or female. In actual practice, however, inheritance was much more frequently by males than by females, for the reason that a man whose first-born was a girl would be most likely to adopt the first-born male child of some one else, who would then supercede his own first-born girl as inheritor of his rights and property. A chief, like the father of any other household, abdicated, in theory, upon the birth of his first-born son. In actual practice the head of a family or tribe would continue to function until the first-born had attained maturity; but all the members if the family or the tribe, as the case might be, regarded the child from its earliest infancy as the actual head of the family or tribe (cf. 14, p. 103). It has already been brought out at several points that there was a much stronger tendency in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou toward regarding the chief and chiefess as sacred individuals than there was in Hiva Oa. I have also spoken of the fact that all male first-borns were regarded as *tapu*, being the living representatives of the ancestral stock. That the *tapu* of chiefs was partly due to these factors is certain, but I believe it was largely a mere accompaniment of their power and position. It seems, furthermore, that the sacredness of chiefesses was due entirely to their position, since a woman was never the representative of the family stock.

Personal tapu

The sanctity of male children in general, discussed later in connection with family, was merely exaggerated in the case of male chiefs. The head being the most *tapu* of all parts of the body, for chiefs in particular but likewise for every first-born, many precautions were taken to prevent anything profane from passing over it or touching it. The persons of both chiefs and chiefesses were regarded as *tapu* in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, but, apparently, in the southern section of the group chiefs and people concerned themselves little about it. Père Jean, writing of Ua Pou, says that the person who passed over a chief would be punished by *nani kaha*,

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784 witchcraft. It was thus, through the sending of sickness into the person who offended, that the chief or other *tapu* man punished offenders—particularly women, who embodied the most contaminating influences. The sacredness of the persons of chiefs in Nuku Hiva is illustrated by the following from Krusenstern (16, p. 126):

> Before we quitted the king's house, we were shown his granddaughter, who, as well as all the children and grandchildren of the king's family, is looked upon as *etua*, a deity. She had a house of her own, to which her mother, grandmother, and her nearest relations alone were allowed free admittance; the house being to all others tabu.

Like the person of the chief or chiefess, the house was regarded as *tapu*, but less so in the southern section than in the northern. There is now living in Haka Ui, Nuka Hiva, an old chiefess who is very *tapu* and still preserves her exclusiveness. It has already been said that on Ua Pou commoners were not allowed to enter the houses of chiefs or chiefesses. In contrast to this, I was told that on Hiva Oa the *ka'ioi*, young male libertines, used to enter the house of the chiefess at Pua Ma'u by night just as they would visit any other house in the course of their nightly escapades. Stewart (26, p. 217) says with regard to the *tapu* class as a whole, which would include not only chiefs but all men tapu through being heads of families or as a result of association with activity of some kind:

> As in other groups where this system prevails, the restrictions of the tabu particularly affect those of the common class in points respecting their habitations and food. The houses of men of the tabu class can never be entered by a woman or other person of the common order; consequently the wives of such, and other females with their attendants in their families, whether in a stated or temporary residence, have separate houses for cooking and eating.

The personal property of sacred persons, particularly of chiefs, was imbued with the quality of their sacredness, and hence had to be protected from profane or contaminating influences. Thus the pipe of a chief could not be smoked by any woman. His clothing was *tapu*, particularly to women, and especially the *hiapo*, cloth made from the young banyan, which was distinctly the cloth of chiefs and first-born males.

In general, it may be said that the chief had no distinctive *tapu* connected with him which might not also be associated with any other person, particularly with any other first-born male; but such *tapu* as were associated with the first-born in general were given special weight and importance in the case of chiefs, because of their position and their power to compel respect. Punishment for infringement of their personal *tapu* was inflicted through the indirect method of sending sickness by witchcraft, or by the direct method of simply killing the offender.

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793 624 rational priest of the tribal god. Sometimes on his own part, sometimes at the chief's behest, he performed his oracular function to discover the proper course that should be pursued.

Councils

623 793 622 The second source of guidance for the chief was through councils. Such amounted to nothing more than informal discussion in which the important members of the tribe, those who were recognized as powers in the community, including the *tuhuna*, and the *toa* or war leaders, participated. These councils were entirely informal: there was no organization, no formality. They took place either at the chief's house or, more commonly, at the warriors' house, which was near and secure from female interruption. The inspirational priest, who was usually related to the chief, played a most important part in these meetings. Whether the balance of power lay with him or the chief depended upon the personality and the reputation of each of the two men. The memory of people of today is so much more vivid regarding the exploits and power of their *tau'a* than of their chiefs, that it seems probable it was usually the priest, rather than the chief, who swayed the minds of the leaders of the people at these meetings. The relationship then must have been this: the chief was directed or guided in making his decisions by the *tau'a*, who received his indications from the tribal god. The *tuhuna*, leaders and organizers of peaceful enterprise, and the *toa*, war leaders, received their orders from the chief. And lastly the people received orders, were organized, directed, and led by the *tuhuna* and *toa*. The function of *toa* as war leaders is described under War, and the organization and direction of enterprise by *tuhuna* is discussed under Industries.

Personal retaliation

627 For murder, theft, insult, or other personal offense within a tribe, the recourse was personal or family retaliation by open force or by supernatural means. Murder and other offenses on the part of other tribes were, if sufficiently serious, avenged by the tribe as a whole. All evidence indicates that stealing within a tribe was very rare and that killing was more so. Stealing was so frowned upon by public opinion that a father would disown a son who did it. Theft was usually punished by supernatural means but sometimes by death. Most of the murders that occurred within a tribe had as their motive sexual jealusy. A chief enforced his authority by supernatural means or by having the offenders killed by his war leaders *(toa)*. The executive tuhuna functioned as guardians of the chief's rights,—several of the stories collected illustrate this,—but the

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protection of property was generally by supernatural means through a spell or by making the property *tapu* in one way or another, such as by giving it a sacred name.

PROPERTY

Ownership by the chief

In approaching the discussion of ownership of land, it will be necessary to reconsider for a moment the relationship of the chief to his people. The tribe was like the family of the chief: they were all relatives by birth, adoption, marriage or friendly alliance. This simile is not my own but comes from native informants. Natives also speak of all land as being owned in the ancient times by the chief. It seems, therefore, that one is justified in carrying the simile further and in saying that the land on which the tribe lived was owned by the chief in the same way that with us family property is legally owned by the head of the family. This was evidently the original conception. It would be the conception that would logically grow out of the native cosmogony, according to which land and people and chief were growths of one and the same stock. But evidence goes to show that in the later phase of the history of the Marquesas certainly much of the tribal land, and probably most of it, had come to be regarded as the private property of the chief of the tribe. But a definite, lingering conception of the land's belonging to the tribe is evidenced by the fact that if one asks today to whom belonged such and such a tract of land or valley, the reply is usually the name of the tribe that lived on it and not the name of an individual. Melville's description of his impressions of conditions in Tai-pi suggests that land ownership there was more or less communistic.

Discussion of this matter in Ua Pou, Nuku Hiva, and Hiva Oa showed, however, that there was what may be characterized as a rudimentary feudal system, under which the chief allotted sections of land to individuals or families and received in return a part of the produce and service in war and industry. Such allotments were proportional to the importance of the individual family in the tribal group. The chief could take back allotments, but customarily, the right to tenant them descended to the first-born whether son or daughter. The whole arrangement was not regular. A landed proprietor was called *anatʻa* (cf. Tahitian *raatira*, Maori *rangatira*). Frequently land rights were acquired not by allotment from the chief but by a family's settling itself where it could do so without encroaching on the land of anyone else or by an individual's planting taro, breadfruit, or coconut where there was an unoccupied spot favorable for the culture. A family when once established on a piece of land had the

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the skulls of his ancestors, represented his ownership of the land on which the *me'ae* stood. Ono has an argument with a chief on Moho Tani as to who has the prior right to the land. Finally Ono proves his claim to priority by demonstrating that he has a skull buried below those of the other chief in the local sacred place.

Just as the land itself was regarded as belonging to the chief, so that which lived or grew on it was his property. Garcia (14, p. 52) gives an example of a war precipitated, in times subsequent to European advent, by one chief's or tribe's stealing goats living on the land of another. The first share of the fruits of the land went to the chief. The breadfruit was partly for his own consumption and that of his family, guests, and retainers; but it was very largely also for storage in the great tribal *ma* pits as precaution against famine time, when the tribe was fed from these pits maintained by the chief. The first part of the catch of fish also went to the chief, and the rest he divided among the different classes that made up his tribe.

The feast places, the temples, the warriors' house, the sacred place of fishermen—indeed all the structures and sites that might be called public or civic—were definitely regarded as the private property of the chief. It has already been said that the feast-place, the warriors' house, and the temple, all of which were near, were with the private houses of the chief and his family actually a part of one establishment. These constituted, so to speak, a civic center for the tribe or community. Just as the public structures and sites belonged to the chief, so also did the canoes used in war and in fishing, and the nets used in fishing.

Temporary restrictions (kahui)

The *kahui*, or *ahui*, was a restriction or prohibition which owners had the right to put on produce of land in which they had vested interests. A chief, being regarded as owner of the tribal land as a whole, was able to lay such restriction on all the land or on particular crops when it was necessary. This was done before or in preparation for great festivals when much food was consumed, and after such festivals when the food supply had been exhausted. Thus, when necessary, the chief would place the *kahui* on fresh breadfruit, or on taro, or on coconuts, or on pigs, or on all of them if need be.

The *kahui* was announced by the chief's administrative tuhuna, and was enforced by them, and also by the fear of the evil consequences that would result from the infringement of a regulation which had received supernatural sanction because of some rite performed at the tribal temple. I was unable to obtain from informants any description of these rites.

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I was unable to obtain from informants any description of these rites. *Kahui* on smaller bits of property were signified by signs of certain kinds attached to the objects restricted. They were laid by means of the rite called *ko'aho,* which was performed by the *tuhuna ko'aho.* This accomplished the enforcement of the *kahui* by supernatural means. The custom of indicating restriction by means of *kahui* signs still persists in the islands. A coconut *kahui* was observed and photographed in the valley of Hana Upe on Hiva Oa. (See fig. 8.) A pole about six feet long was erected on a deserted house platform. To the pole, at

FIGURE 8.—*Kahui* sign. Drawing made from a photograph.

a point about four feet from the ground, was attached a bunch of twigs of some bush, the leaves of which were dried and red. Immediately below this bunch of brush hung two coconuts, the sign that this was the fruit that was being reserved. On the island of Ua Huka when a man wishes to place an *ahui* on a tree, he ties a coconut leaf vertically on the trunk; on a breadfruit tree he ties a breadfruit leaf similarly; and on a banana tree, a banana leaf. A certain man owns property by the sea in the bay of Haane. Desiring once to place an *ahui* on octopus, he erected on the shore a pole to which was attached a coconut leaf. It is my belief that these modern *kahui* are not in the minds of the people supported by supernatural means, as were those in ancient times, but that the custom is

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merely a survival of the use of a sign, respect for which is based on the more recent conception of property rights, which has come with the white man.

Melville (23, p. 252) unwittingly gives us examples of the use of *kahui* in Tai-pi:

> Frequently in walking through the groves I observed breadfruit and coconut trees, with a wreath of leaves twined in a peculiar fashion about their trunks. This was the mark of the taboo. The trees themselves, their fruit, and even the shadows they cast upon the ground, were consecrated by its presence. In the same way a pipe, which the king has bestowed upon me, was rendered sacred in the eyes of the natives, none of whom could I ever prevail upon to smoke from it. The bowl was encircled by a woven band of grass, somewhat resembling those Turks' head occasionally worked in the handles of our whip-stalks. A similar badge was once braided about my wrist by the royal hand of Mehevi himself, who, as soon as he had concluded the operation, pronounced me "Taboo."

It is correct to apply the word *tapu* to those things restricted by means of a *kahui*. *Kahui* may be defined as a particular kind of *tapu* applied to property and enforced by artificial means.

The use of sacred names in establishing the right to property is discussed in connection with Names and Naming.

Personal Property

Ornaments, clothing, weapons, utensils, canoes, and houses were regarded as personal property and were privately owned by individuals and families. Houses were regarded more as family than as individual property; and even some ornaments, such as the tortoise-shell crown, seem to have been family rather than individual possessions.

THE FAMILY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

THE DWELLING AND ADJUNCTS

The establishment of a well-to-do family in the Marquesas consisted of a large sleeping house, a house that served as a *tapu* eating house for men and at the same time as a storehouse, a cooking house, and a sacred place where family rites were performed. The sleeping houses, like canoes, spears, and all other important possessions, were named. Early visitors speak of the neatness of the precincts about the houses and of the living arrangements (13, p. 28; 22, p. 127), but today they are, almost without exception, slovenly. As many as five or six related families lived in a single establishment (14, p. 113). Garcia (14, pp. 110, 112) speaks of the peace and harmony in which the members of the household, children and adults lived.

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place set apart for *tapu* individuals. The space behind the bed, between the back log and the rear wall, was, according to Garcia (14, p. 127), sacred, a place for the gods, and the place where inmates spat (spittle being safe from evil doers here). Bundles of clothing and other articles were slung up to the ridgepole with cords (23, p. 89), and valuables were suspended in baskets in the same manner, the cord sustaining them being passed through a coconut shell to prevent rats from climbing it (24, p. 113). The upper surface of the joist supporting the front eaves of the house served as a shelf, on which small articles were put. Articles were also hung from the small supports that ran horizontally along the inside of the rear wall. Early visitors describe the way in which weapons, utensils, stilts, adzes, drums, skulls, and other things were hung on the walls (16, pp. 159-60; 19, p. 129). Small wooden chests *(tifa, umete)* served as containers of articles of value. Garcia (14, p. 129) and Krusenstern (16. pp. 159-60) describe, in one end of the houses of the wealthy, a small partition of bamboo to protect such sacred objects as the bier of a recently deceased ancestor. A part of the interior furnishings of a sleeping house was frequently an empty coffin, waiting for the body of its still living owner or a coffin containing a corpse slung up under the ridge pole. Lower jaws of hogs were observed projecting from beneath the front eaves of a house at Pua Ma'u, on which were formerly hung containers holding the *popoi* of the *tapu* members of the household. These were the jaws of the hogs that had been eaten at the feast of consecration of the house when it was new. The interior of the house was lighted at night by means of kernels of the candlenut *(ama)* strung on the midrib of a coconut leaf or on a strip of bamboo. This candle was stuck into the side of the house, and a vessel was placed beneath to catch the ashes.

The Fata'a

The structure restricted to the use of *tapu* men was the *fata'a (fata'a moe, nahua)*. This according to accounts on Hiva Oa, consisted of a frame, the dimensions of which were about 15 by 20 feet, raised on posts from five to twelve feet high, over which was a roof or house. This structure stood close by the platform of the common sleeping house. The top of the staging, or floor of the house, was made of planks or logs. On it was a fireplace made of earth and stones, where the food of the *tapu* members of the household was prepared. The *fata'a* served also as a storehouse for the food of these *tapu* persons. Old men, who no longer associated with women, and hence were always *tapu*, lived constantly on the *fata'a*, sleeping there. Women were never allowed to enter but only men and boys. The floor was reached from the ground by means of a ladder, made, according to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit.

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to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit. On Nuku Hiva I was told that the posts supporting the *fata'a* were carved and also those of the sleeping house in the establishment of a chief who could afford such elaboration, and that the floor was made of small fau logs, a long notched log serving as a ladder. The oven and cooking fire were on the ground underneath the *fata'a*. It was on the *fata'a* that men devoted themselves to their home industries—the crafts of ornament and weapon-making, the shaping of bowls, the making of *popoi* pounders, and to the carving of these.

The Cook House

The cook house *(fa'e tumau)* was a shed on the ground, thatched with coconut leaf mats, open on all sides or closed on two or three sides, with bamboo or fau rods placed sometimes horizontally, sometimes vertically. The oven was a hole in the earth floor. In it lay the small stream boulders

a *b* *c*

Figure 9.—Household utensils: *a*, types of stone *popoi* pounders; *b* and *c*, carved bowls showing typical designs.

that were heated for cooking. Fire was made by friction by the plough method: a short stick of soft wood, usually fau, sharpened at the lower end, was rubbed rapidly in a groove running lengthwise on the surface of a larger piece of soft wood (fau or the dry stem of a coconut cluster preferred), wood dust accumulating gradually in a little pile at the end of the groove away from the operator, until a fine thread of smoke began to rise from this heated pile of dust and then the point of the rubbing stick was thrust quickly into the dust, tinder added, and the glowing bit of dust and tinder were blown into a flame. The burden of making fire every time it was needed was obviated by means of *nanu ahi*, long bundles of coconut sheafs tied with sennit, which when lighted smouldered for a long time. Tongs *(koke mei)* for handling the hot stones in the oven were made of two sticks three or four feet long, preferably of *mi'o* wood. These were held together about a foot from the lower end by means of a loose lashing, which allowed sufficient play for the sticks to be crossed and manipulated as tongs.

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hand there was no sexual relationship between a man and his own sisters nor a woman and her own brothers.

Now, all matters associated in any way with cohabitation, reproduction by the woman, menstruation, and so on, were regarded as contaminating in association with beings, things, or activities that were characterized as *tapu* or sacred. The logical result, therefore, of the marriage system in which the sisters of a man's wife and the wives of his brothers were also the man's wives, and the brothers of a woman's husband and the husbands of her sisters were also the woman's husbands—and of the religious system, in which all things associated with cohabitation and reproduction were contaminating—was that in all ceremonial matters the relatives that were called upon to take charge of the child were those close relatives, who could not have mutual sexual relationships—in other words, who were not spiritually contaminating to the child because of sexual contact or connection in any way with his parents or potential parents. It was the mother's brothers, who had no sexual relationship either with the mother or the father, and the father's sisters, who had no sexual relationship with the father or the mother, who had entire charge of the child in all of the numerous rites that were performed for it.

Concomitant with the relationship and rule of *tapu*, under discussion is the institution of cross-cousin marriage, which was the most approved type, though not obligatory. A person could not marry the child of a paternal uncle or a maternal aunt, because this child was regarded as full brother or sister. On the other hand, since a man could not marry his brother-in-law nor a woman her sister-in-law, the child of a maternal uncle or paternal aunt was sure not to be a full brother or sister, but a first cousin. To the native of the Marquesas, full brother and sister marriage was too close and so prohibited. But first cousin marriage was most approved, in general, for social and economic reasons, since it kept the family together as a unit and did not require the distribution of its property.

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Birth Rites

There were a number of *tapu* intended to protect the mother and her unborn child during the period of her pregnancy. Most of these had to do with what the woman ate. The pregnant woman had to be protected also against the influence of evil spirits. It was for this reason that her husband stayed with her in the birth house during the time preceding birth. Other regulations were made, evidently to protect the unborn child from evil influence emanating from unclean things. Garcia (14, p. 74) says:

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that another man was called Kupa because his father had killed a man of that name (7).

Tapu Names and Nicknames

Any property might be made *tapu* to its claimant by being given a sacred name that belonged to him. This applied to land, hogs, canoes, and so on. It is said that a child would sometimes be named at birth after a fish, and that thereafter that fish could not be eaten by any member of his tribe. This *tapu* is evidently based on the fact that the things which bore the person's name belonged to that person.

Although a man was always known to members of his family by some one of the genealogical names that had been given him, yet most men were known to the other members of the tribe by some nickname. This might be the name of some enemy, whom he had killed, or it might be a name that had been given to him by outsiders at the time of his birth—a nickname, referring to some incident associated with his birth, to some peculiarity of his parents, and so on. Or it might be the nickname that was given when he was tattooed. At that time a new name called *patiki*, referring to some personal peculiarity, was given to the *opou* (the first-born lad, for whom the work of tattooing had been organized by his father) by all the *ka'ioi* (youths) who were participating in the operation with him. Only *opou* had such names; *ka'ioi* had no *patiki*. The family of a lad who had such a nickname never used this name, but everyone else in the tribe did. It is suggested, with regard to this, that the giving of a new name to the *opou* may be a survival of a custom similar to that in Australia, where the youth was given a new name at the time of puberty rites.

Exchanging Names

The institution called *o inoa* consisted of a formal union between two individuals of the same sex, which was accomplished by an exchange of names, the two thus becoming namesakes. The discussion of the intimate connection or identity of the personality and the name indicates how complete a bond this made for the native.

With the name went all the rights of each individual. A man who was one's namesake had a right to all one's property—even to one's wife—, and to all such rights as one might have through inheritance or position. In war time captives from an enemy tribe had their lives saved sometimes by being made namesake of the chief of the victorious tribe. The *e inoa* convention was respected not only by the two individuals but by the other members of their respective tribes. In other words if a man had a namesake who belonged to an enemy tribe that would kill any other member

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the operation, was compelled to rest and recuperate, the bodies of the youths who were assisting at the rite were tattooed gratis by the *tuhuna*. Everyone in the tattooing house was *tapu*, being restricted from any contact with outsiders, particularly with women. There were certain food restrictions for the *opou*, the object of which appears to have been to lessen the inflammation and fever resulting from the operation.

The youth was held by assistants of the *tuhuna patu tiki*, who outlined the designs with charcoal. These outlined designs the *tuhuna* himself sometimes filled in; but at other times he would leave that part of the work to his assistants or apprentices. The pigment used was made by mixing soot from the smoke of burnt candlenut kernels with water or cocoanut oil. The whole process of making the pigment, which was prepared in advance by the father of the boy, was very *tapu*. The implements of the *tuhuna* consisted of a set of small bone instruments with fine saw-teeth at one end, which were inserted in a piece of reed stem or bamboo to serve as a handle, and a small baton held in the right hand, which was used to tap the instrument. As the tattooer worked, he accompanied the rhythm of his tapping with a chant which was supposed to lessen the pain for the boy. (For examples of design see fig. 11, and Pl. II, c.)

At the time of these rites the *ka'ioi* youths who were undergoing the operation with the *opou* always gave him a nickname which was known as the *pati'i*. These nicknames always referred to some personal peculiarity of the boy himself, or of his parents. The final completion of the tattooing was celebrated with a feast (see Festivals) at which the newly tattooed youths exhibited the beauty of their new designs.

Girls were tattooed betwen the ages of seven and twelve, in a small house erected for the purpose, the work being done simply, with less elaborate rites and without the participation of the *ka'ioi*.

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SEXES

The freedom between the sexes during the years immediately following adolescence has been described in detail. (See The Tribe—Ka'ioi.) Porter says (24, p. 113):

> Before marriage they [unmarried girls] are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband.

The transition from the period of *ka'ioi* freedom to permanent relationship with one of the other sex appears to have come either as a result of the birth of a child to a girl or young woman, in which case she and the child's father came together and lived as *ahana* and *vehine*, merely

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766 spirit was accomplished by the sacrifice of from one to ten human victims. Accompanying this sacrifice there was a great feasting and rejoicing, for it was believed that the tribal god would give abundance of fruits.

The following description of the practices surrounding a chief's death is from the Dordillon MS.: When the chief became seriously ill, a woman [763 diviner *(vehine tau'a)* was called in to discover the cause of the illness. 787] While the chief was sick, his wife and children wept; when he died, everyone came to weep, cutting themselves with bamboo until the blood was spread all about, crying out, "Oh, our chief, here is your miserable child, your miserable child who stays with you. Your death brings misery to your child." All the household, including the servants *(fa'e toa)* wept a great deal. The women relatives of the chief danced outside the house where the body lay, then went inside to him, crying, "Oh, our chief, this is your *heva*." The body rested in the chief's dwelling for six months and was then taken to a sacred house *(fa'e tapu)*. Here the skin was taken off *(ua hoe te kī'i)*—a very long process. While this was being done, a burial house *(fa'e tupapa'u)* was built. When the skin was off and the flesh blackened and dried, the body wrapped in cloth, a head dress was put on the head, ornaments in the ears, and so on. Thus dressed in complete regalia, the corpse was put into a coffin, after which it was carried into its sacred house amidst shooting of guns. This house was built by the chief's servants. While building it, they had to eat there, and after finishing their work, they must bathe in the sea before eating in a common house. While the body lay in the sacred house, the wife offered food and tobacco to it, and continued to mourn and weep all the time the body lay there. The body was left in this house for a year. Then the chief's children came and closed the eyes with leaves, wrapped the bones in a piece of cloth, and hid them in some place in the mountains. Valuables were put in the bundle with the bones. It was a great insult to the remains if they were wrapped in a mat or in anything that had been worn by a woman.

766 According to Père Pierre's account, when a *tau'a* died the whole tribe was under a general *tapu* and warriors were immediately despatched to ● 784 seek victims. All the people cooked enough pigs to last for seven days, during which time no fires could be built, no one could leave his house, and no work could be done. When the human sacrifices had been secured, the *tapu* was lifted. The body was put on the temple platform and there the sacrifices were offered in its honor. If on the seventh day a victim had not been found, men went to the temple, each carrying on his shoulders a piece of wood and a germinated coconut, which were put on the sacred place. This accomplished, the *tapu* was lifted (4).

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Treatment of Dead Bodies

Tupapa'u (or *tupapaku)* was the word applied to dead bodies. *Paku* means to rub with oil. In other words, a *tupapaku* was a corpse that had been rubbed with oil—a mummy. The body of a dead person was first laid on a piece of cloth and was washed. After the feast at the time of death and the chanting on the night following—that is to say, after the spirit was supposed to have left the body, it was placed on a bier and the process of rubbing, which accomplished a temporary mummification, was begun. When the body was not being rubbed, it was sometimes placed on the bier, flat on its back and covered with white cloth. At other times it was propped in a seated position with the arms and the head resting over a cross made of two sticks. It appears that the purpose of this custom was to allow juices to run out of the mouth as well as the anus, rather than to put the body in a position in which it could be best observed.

Garcia (14, p. 116) describes the dressing of a dead warrior in his finest clothes, placing near him his arms, head-dress and ornaments, and the trophies of his prowess. The body was left thus, lying at length or seated on its bier, from two to eight days. After the body had been embalmed and skinned, the remains were put in a coffin, which was elevated on stakes under the roof of a special house entirely closed on all four sides or half open and an offering of food was made.

On Hiva Oa the process of embalming was called *ha'a pa'a.* As the body lay on its bier, it was rubbed with perfumed coconut oil called *huhe.* Four or more men and women who were relatives of the dead person—according to my informant on Hiva Oa—rubbed the body continuously for about six days. During the time of rubbing, decay was going on in the interior of the body, the juices being allowed to run out through the anus into a pit or ditch *(vaio)* below the bier. When the decaying matter had all run out and the surface of the body was firm, the labor was finished. The body was then usually left on its bier until it dried up. During the time of the rubbing the food of those attending the body was brought to them. They were not allowed to prepare their own food, but they fed themselves. During all this time they slept in the house with the body and were not allowed to wash even their hands. The reason given for this is hard to understand. The explanation given was that if they had washed, they would have been visited by evil spirits. The workers were very *tapu.* After embalming was accomplished, all the attendants washed in fresh water and the *tapu* was lifted. According to Père Pierre, three times each day certain people came to rub the dead body with raw breadfruit paste. Special women attendants were devoted to this work. Père Siméon says

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feast place.) *Ka'aku* was then put in the mouth of the inspirational priest with the back of the hand, also pork and fish, which he ate—this was the feeding of the god through his priest. When the war was over, the tribal god would say through his priest, "Celebrate a festival in my honor." A house of the same form as the dwelling was made at the feast place. *Popoi* was prepared, fish in baskets, pig, and so on. The ceremonial priest cried out an invitation to the feast, naming the victuals. The pigs were then divided among the different allies. On the next day the feast was opened by the ceremonial priest, who shouted the announcement that all was ready. After the feast there was dancing to the beating of drums and then all the people went home.

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TAPU GOVERNING WARRIORS

It has already been said that any association with women during war was forbidden to warriors. Père Siméon (7) states also that *kava* drinking was forbidden. If a man quarreled with his mother before going into battle, he would surely be slain. After a man had made a killing, either in war or otherwise, he was *tapu* for ten days (18, p. 133). During this time he could not cook for himself and he had to be served by another. Like a warrior, a gun or spear which had killed a man was *tapu* for ten days; and such a weapon was given the name of its victim (9).

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TAPU GOVERNING WOMEN IN WARTIME

There were a number of *tapu* that applied to women during wartime. They were not allowed to let down their hair, nor to light a fire, nor to eat; they could not associate with their warrior husbands after war until the men had been purified; and while active fighting was going on, they could not sleep in the sleeping house but must sleep in the dance area *(tohua)* (9). Women were allowed to eat with their husbands on the morning preceding the combat. According to one informant, the women were obliged to fast until the return of the warriors. Women could prevent war by uttering a curse on the road over which the warriors would have to pass—"The road leading to battle is my *pudendum.*" If warriors passed over the road that had been thus named by a woman, it was believed that they would surely be massacred (9).

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After returning from war, warriors were not allowed to eat with the women until their *tapu* (sacredness) had been removed by bathing in the sea—only after the warriors had thus been freed, were their wives allowed to let down their hair. After a victory, heads of conquered enemies were paraded in the valley of the victors (9 and 4). Dordillon gives *va'a'ani*

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726 (*vaʻa*, canoe; *ani*, sky) as a word meaning a litter for carrying chiefs in
784 triumph. The *koʻina heana* (see Festivals, Cannibalistic Feasts) followed a war and celebrated the capture of victims.

SIMPLER WARFARE

Raiding

628 The simple war practice of raiding, which is to be characterized as head-
726 hunting, was called *moe oe* (*moe*, sleep, dream; *oe*, ?, you). The phrase signified going by way of the bush and the hills at night, entering a man's house and cutting off his head. The head was brought home in triumph and presented to the priest at a sacred place. One informant said that on account of this head-hunting, men always slept outside their houses, the women only sleeping inside. This was doubtless true in some exposed valleys. *O te pae* described the custom of hiding in the bush until a victim passed, when he was speared or struck and carried home to be eaten cooked or raw. *Utu po* was a night raid when a house was surrounded by men who awaited the early risers and pounced upon them (9).

Many of the raids for revenge and sacrifice victims were made by sea and frequently at night. Whether the raiders came by night or by day their method was to surprise a man, woman or child on the beach or rocks and to make off with their prize before the tribe was aroused. The way in which the valley at Pua Ma'u was raided by such parties in the the old days has been described to me as follows: People used to come from Hana Pa'a'oa in large canoes to obtain victims in Pua Ma'u. Four men sat on each seat of the canoe, two with paddles and two without who acted as reserves, taking the paddles when the others were weary. The canoe safely hidden behind the headland on the south side of the bay, one warrior would climb up the hill and watch for people coming down to the rocks to catch crabs. When he signalled to the men in the canoe, they would draw near and land a party to pounce upon the victims and make a speedy retreat. Their triumphant yelling as they were speeding across Pua Ma'u bay caused great commotion among the inhabitants of the valley.

Canoes for Raids

716 For more elaborate organized expeditions by sea to atack an enemy
726 many canoes were necessary. A preliminary of such a war was the building of war canoes. These canoes were merely for transportation or for attacking an enemy on shore from the sea. There seems to have been little that might be characterized as marine warfare, since attacks were

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463 565 monial priest, who presided in all important ritual, and served as repository and teacher of sacred and traditional lore. This *tuhuna* is discussed in connection with the rites in which he functioned. There seems to have been no particular dress or insignia that distinguished *tuhuna* as a class in every day life, although they wore a special ceremonial dress at the time of rites, as did others taking part. This dress will be described in connection with these rites.

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF ALL INDUSTRY

461 464 Before entering upon the detailed description of the different types of work, it may be well to summarize the main features that characterized enterprise of every kind. In the first place anyone who was employing others to do work for him was expected to feed his employees during the time of the labor, as well as to pay them. If it were a large undertaking the directors and experts and their assistants were both fed and housed during the whole time of the labor.

461 784 All work was consecrated, *tapu,* for the reason that its successful accomplishment required the shutting out of any contaminating influences. The *tapu* on workers and places of work may be compared to the prophylactic precautions of medical practice—these *tapu* in the Marquesas were to guard the product of the work from evil spiritual influences. The building of special houses for the accomplishment of all work and consecration of the precincts were to insure freedom from contaminating influences. These special houses were of different forms which are described in connection with the various enterprises. Regarded from a practical point of view they were shelters that protected the workers and their work from the elements. Before beginning work all those who were to take part had to purify themselves, to insure that no evil influences would be brought to the work. The evil influences that had to be guarded against were mostly those associated with womankind, the contamination connected with the reproductive functions of woman; and evil spirits that were supposed to associate themselves with females. Persons and things that had been associated with consecrated labor were regarded as sacred. Before such persons could return to common activities, such as eating and sexual life, they had to be relieved of the sacred influence by bathing or by a chant. And things, such as the sacred houses, that had been associated with the work had to be destroyed by burning.

461 [787] There were omens prophetic of the successful or unsuccessful accomplishment of labor, but modern informants know little about them, as omens were a part of the knowledge of *tuhuna* and were restricted to them. Especial deities presided over every type of activity. Chants and spells

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226 Porter (24, p. 112) describes the following rite which he observed, performed probably for the purpose of consecrating apparatus connected with the fishing industry, though possibly what he heard and witnessed was the recitation of the chant and performance of ceremonial in the sacred place, preceding the departure of a fishing expedition.

> In religion these people are mere children; their morais are their baby houses, and their gods are their dolls. I have seen Gattanewa with all his sons, and many others, sitting for hours together clapping their hands and singing before a number of little wooden gods laid out in small houses erected for the occasion, and ornamented with strips of cloth. They were such houses as a child would have made, of about two feet long and eighteen inches high and no less than ten or twelve of them in a cluster, like a small village. By the side of these were several canoes, furnished with their paddles, seines, harpoons, and other fishing apparatus, and round the whole a line was drawn to show that the place was tabooed. Within this line was Gattanewa and others, like overgrown babies, singing and clapping their [781] hands, sometimes laughing and talking, and appearing to give their ceremony no attention.

It appears that a skull (undoubtedly that of a deified chief or priest) sometimes played a part in these rites. Père Jean (19) describes the attendant of the tribal sacred place on Ua Pou carrying from the place a skull, which was entrusted to the fishermen to make the catch good and protect the fishermen from sharks. After the fishing was over, the skull was returned to the temple (*ahu*), the repository for the skulls of chiefs and priests.

[782] Pigs, *poke* and *kaaku* (see Preparation of Food) were carried to the fisherman's shrine as offerings. Waist cloths and collars made of pandanus seed were sometimes offered and appeals were made to the god for a large catch and favorable winds, and so on.

Tapu and Inauspicious Influences

226 Garcia (14, p. 70) says that certain parts of the coast were *tapu*, being restricted or consecrated to fishing. According to him, there was a general ●784 *tapu* affecting the whole valley or tribe at the time of a fishing expedition. On such a day all of those not engaged in the enterprise had to keep silence and remain inactive.

The spirit of the mother of a fisherman, called *ma'uhane*, played a great part in the success of an expedition. A man who had maltreated his mother or failed to give her a share of fish would catch nothing. (This has its counterpart in the belief that a man who quarreled with his mother before battle would be slain.) The wife of a fisherman had to fast when her husband was at sea: she was not permitted to leave her house, nor to indulge in sexual intercourse. (Women were similarly restricted in

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war time.) If she violated one of these regulations the expedition would be fruitless. Persons who had been made angry by not being given a sufficient share of fish sometimes caused the fishing to be fruitless by casting an evil spell on the net. To relieve the net of such a curse, it was necessary to cover it with ashes and briars (4).

Langsdorff (18, p. 137) describes fish as being *tapu* when breadfruit was ripening.

> Almost all fish are at the time when the bread-fruit is not ripe tabooed, and must not be eaten. A superstitious idea prevails, that by transgressing this law all the young breadfruit would fall from the trees, which must inevitably occasion a scarcity. This connection of fish with the bread-fruit is wholly inexplicable. Perhaps fish may be considered as unwholesome at this time of the year, and therefore the inhabitants are by such a taboo restrained from eating them; or it may be that this is their spawning time, and it is intended by such an ordinance to prevent their natural increase being interrupted by their being taken at this period. It seems strange, however, that as soon as the bread-fruit is ripe, and there is great plenty of it, the taboo upon the fish ceases, and the people may catch whatever they please.

In the language of the Marquesas many fruits—notably kinds of breadfruit, banana, and coconut—have the same names as different kinds of fish. This *tapu* on fishing during the maturing season of breadfruit was, therefore, doubtless based on conceptions arising out of a belief in magical correspondence and balance of life on the land and in the sea.

According to Melville (23, p. 233), fishing was always done at full moon, but the natives at Atu Ona consider it as the least favorable time. Melville says:

> Four times during my stay in the valley the young men assembled near the full of the moon, and went together on these excursions. As they were generally absent about forty-eight hours, I was led to believe that they went out towards the open sea, some distance from the bay.

Fishing Festivals

Garcia (14, pp. 70-73) describes festivals that followed the fishing, saying that the *ko'ikaika* was one that occurred frequently and not at stated times. At a feast following a fishing expedition, Garcia witnessed a gathering of seven or eight hundred people decorated in all their finery, presided over by the chief. There was music of drums and chanting; *ka'ioi*, oiled and stained yellow, were dancing and playing the clown. After this celebration on the dance area the fish were distributed on the seashore. Concerning the rites connected with this *ko'ina*, I have no information. It it probable that in some of these feasts religious rites must have had a prominent place including the offering of first fruits for the purpose of removing the *tapu* on the sea, and chanting with the object of increasing

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feasts did not come at fixed intervals but were regulated by the necessity for awaiting seasons of plenty. On all these occasions offerings were made at the tomb and at the sacred place of the local god and the sacred place was bedecked. If the man whose death was celebrated were of sufficiently high class, only chiefs were allowed to partake of the feast.

KOIKA OKE

Père Pierre describes feasting, the beating of drums and chanting in connection with the *ko'ika oke*, which, according to Dordillon (9), was celebrated to bring rain or to break a famine. For a month prior to this feast, sexual intercourse was prohibited; women were forbidden to make cloth, to amuse themselves, to bathe, anoint, or decorate themselves with flowers. The *tapu* was then lifted, these restrictions removed, and the memorial festival was celebrated with feasting and general rejoicing, including undoubtedly (though this is not stated) free indulgence of the sexual instincts. At this festival many games were played, such as top spinning and making of string figures. The clothes of chiefesses were orange and those of common women yellow, baked *ena* root being used as a dye for the orange and the raw root for the yellow. At this rite the sons and daughters of chiefly families and old men and women only might dance, and all danced naked. The feasting and dancing lasted from one to ten days (9).

KO'IKA VAIHOPU

Père Pierre (4) says that the *ko'ika vaihopu*, which was the second memorial festival, was the most famous of all. At this the participants chanted to the beating of drums and danced naked, old men and women being smeared with white earth so as to exaggerate their decreptitude. Men, women, and children were brought as though to be sacrificed as human victims, being carried entirely nude. They were not sacrificed, however, but in pantomime imitated the throes of death. Others impersonated the type of spirits called *fanaua* (see Spirits) which caused women to die in childbirth. Beyond this point the reverend father could not bring himself to continue his description, leaving it with the words "monstrosities," and "truly infernal bacchanals."

According to a Nuku Hiva informant, one feature of the *ko'ika vaihopu* was the exhibition of youths and maids. Before the feast they bleached their skins. They were dressed in all their finery and displayed themselves before the rest of the people, after which they danced. This festival, according to this informant, was celebrated only in seasons of plenty.

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ber of victims required and the places where they would be found. People then went to look at the place indicated for the number of victims fixed by the *tau'a*. If the victims designated had not been found at the place indicated by him he would have been regarded as an impostor and no longer a *tau'a*. But the natives say that he was never mistaken.

A priestess possessed by a god or demon (*etua hooka*) made the same evolutions. If she took in her hand a *hoto* (pointed stick of ironwood), it was a sign that human victims were necessary. If she took nothing but a piece of sugar cane, it was a sign that they were not necessary. She wore nothing upon her body but a waist cloth. Relatives could prevent her from making these excursions or evolutions by hiding her loin cloth, thus leaving her entirely naked.

The Sanctity of a Tau'a

The sanctity of the *tau'a* was greater than that of any other member of the tribe. When he was possessed, or when he died, the whole tribe was under a ceremonial *tapu*, which required that no work be done, that no one circulate in the valley, that no fire be lighted, and that no one anoint himself which coconut oil nor with saffron. His great sanctity may easily be understood when one considers that the living man himself was regarded as a god, at most times being called *atua*, god. According to Père Siméon, even the shadow of his house was *tapu*. When a *tau'a* died on Fatu Hiva, his house and all his possessions were burned. His body was so sacred that it could not be touched by anyone. Hence it was not treated and mummified, as other bodies were, but was carried on a bier to a cave in the mountains and there left to decompose. Mr. Linton has given me some interesting examples of the way in which property could be rendered *tapu* by naming it after a *tau'a*. This custom, discussed under Names, made it possible for individuals or a group to restrict a piece of property by giving it a sacred name that belonged to them, thus consecrating the property to themselves. Garcia (14, p. 52) speaks of one *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva, who at his death made red a *tapu* color—thereafter all red things were sacred to him, even fruits and animals.

Private Life of a Tau'a

The evidence of modern informants as to whether *tau'a* married and had families is conflicting. According to some they were allowed to have nothing at all to do with women; others say that they associated with women, when not functioning ceremonially, but had no children; while still others say that intercourse with women was *tapu* only during the performance of rites, but that during the rest of the time *tau'a* might have a family life exactly as did every other member of the tribe. The rules or customs regarding this may have varied in different places. Certain it is, from various sources of evidence, that some *tau'a* had wives and children. The family of a *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva is described by Stewart

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heana. Tiki-tuao had seen the tribal gods eating the spirit (*kuhane*) of his brother-in-law before the latter was even conscious of the fact that his body was to be sacrificed, the physical sacrifice in this case following the capture of the man's *kuhane* by the gods.

Tapu Before Offering Human Sacrifice

A general *tapu* on the whole tribe was in order at the time of the offering of a human victim. During this rite, the temple assistants kept a great fire burning in the temple precincts. While this fire was burning, no others would be lighted, no one might leave his house, and absolute silence was required. It is said that the inspirational priest could detect violation of this *tapu* by looking into his bowl of *kava*. According to Père Pierre (4), the ceremony of offering human sacrifice lasted seven days. During these seven days the relatives of the victim remained in their houses, never leaving them, lying prone with their heads covered with cloth, lest they come under the power of the spell recited for that purpose over the body of their relative who was being sacrified. This rite, called *mao heana*, is recorded from the island of Hiva Oa by Père Pierre. The face of a human victim was smeared with red pigment. Flowers of *oute* (*Hibiscus rosa sinensis*) were put in their ears. Young *noni* fruits were put in the mouth of the victim, being regarded as bait (*hakoko*) which would draw the relatives of the victim. The spirit of the victim was supposed to carry this bait to the house of his relatives and thus bring it about that they also could be seized as victims.

Rites at Time of Human Sacrifice

The following description of the rite called *ha'i ha'i heaka*, the rite of human sacrifice on Nuku Hiva, is taken from the account of Père Siméon (7), based on the notes of other of the earlier Catholic missionaries:

As the bearers of the victims approached, the priests, dressed in their ceremonial costume, awaited them on the dance area. Drumming announced the approach of the victim. When the carriers arrived, they threw the bodies down before the priests. The victims for the gods were then taken to the temple. There, two baskets called *kete hakaoko* (basket-make-strong), containing fishhooks and some young fresh coconuts, were hung on the arms of each victim. Two fish-hooks were fastened to the lips of the victim, which were drawn tight by small cords. In the baskets was bait to entice the victim's relatives. The inspirational priest mounted the temple platform with a fan in hand and with eyes raised, cried, *"Ou! ou! ou! oho te ĭ'ĭ"* (Let wrath be kindled). The chant (called *ha'ika*) accompanying the sacrifice was offered by the chief ceremonial priest.

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776 The low mountain Kei Ani at the base of the valley now called Atu Ona, the ancient name of which was Vevau, was called Mouna-tauna-etua (mountain landing place of the gods). It is said that anciently all the gods from all the different islands of the group used at certain times to congregate at this mountain, the crest of which was regarded as a temple (*me'ae*). The probability of this valley and the surrounding region's having been the place of original settlement of the ancestors of the natives of the Marquesas has been discussed in connection with settlement of the islands.

So far as I know, the original gods of creation were never represented artificially nor thought to be embodied in any visible object. Père Pierre (4) says that Tehitikaupeka, one of the gods of the sky, was represented in the form of a bird. All the images at the tribal temples, however, seems to have been representations of the tutelary tribal deities, which were ancestral. On the other hand one would suspect that there must have been images, or representation of some kind, of Tana-oa at the platforms on Fatu Uku where offerings were made to him by fishermen. The tutelary tribal deities may be said to have had also human embodiments in one sense, the inspirational priests having been regarded, at times of possession at least, as the actual living embodiments of the gods.

[784] In every valley and bay there were certain things, products of land and sea, or sometimes colors, which the people were forbidden to touch. Père Pierre (4), who recorded a great number of these *tapu*, speaks of them as things "*tapu* or dedicated to the gods." *Tapu* in this way in Taiohae were chickens, freshwater eels, red pigs, and fish called *u'ua* (*tapu* almost everywhere), *tatue*, and *heheimanu*. These could be eaten only by the priests. (See Tapu.)

SPIRITS

SPIRITS OF HUMAN BEINGS

774 The separable soul or spirit of a human being was called *kuhane* or *uhane*. Such spirits were conceived of as being peculiar to human beings, never belonging to other animate or inanimate objects. Human spirits or souls manifested themselves as ghosts with most of the usual phenomena associated with such spectres. Ghosts of the living might be seen at night in dreams when the spirit of the dreamer was free from his body and wandering, but the ghosts of the recently dead were the more likely to be encountered. The ghost of a man who had died three weeks before our arrival at Atu Ona was supposed to be still wandering when we reached that valley, but was soon forgotten. Such ghosts linger about the familiar

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skyward, had very thin legs, and were so light that they scarcely touched the ground.

Such demons were supposed to inflict injury of some kind on adults; but it was children that needed most to be protected from them: they were thought to steal children, to inflict disease upon them, and to play such tricks as exchanging babies without the knowledge of the mothers. In the legends, *vehine hae* are described as cannibal ogresses who assumed the forms of lovely women at one moment and of hideous ogresses at another. As beautiful women they lured men to their caves, where, reverting to their true form, with eyes popping out and long tongue lapping down to the ground, they would devour their victims.

Etua Hae

Etua hae (wild gods) were spirits or phantoms which appeared not to have been conceived of as having human form. These spirits are said to be seen shooting across an open space, as for instance across a bay, like a streak of light, or as lights passing along the mountain ridges at night. They are apparently the same as the *kakainake,* which Dordillon (8) defines as fires like torches that the natives pretended to see on the mountains during night and took to be spirits.

TAPU

In the Marquesas, *tapu* meant primarily restricted or forbidden because sacred, not to be profaned, and secondly, defiled, spiritually dangerous. *Tapu* had as its fundamental meaning, sacred; thus, a first-born's head was *tapu.* The secondary meaning applied to rules to protect sacredness: thus, a woman's menstrual cloth was not *tapu,* but it was *tapu* to touch it. *Me'ie,* meaning literally a clear sky, was used as the word meaning not restricted, free, in contradistinction to *tapu,* restricted.

TAPU OF SACREDNESS

Sacredness of Persons

Males as a class, whether children or adults, were regarded as sacred in contradistinction to females as a class who were common. Chiefesses, by reason of their position, seem in this matter to have fallen in with the class of males rather than with females, in that their persons were regarded as sacred in the same way, and most of the ordinary restrictions of *tapu* for women were not applied to them. The question of sacredness of a chiefly is discussed in connection with the Chief and Chiefess.

The male first-born child was sacred beyond all other members of the family. Anything that came in contact with such a child had to be de-

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posited in a special sacred place. If a child were playing with something and dropped it, his mother would pick it up and carry it in her hair, her head being sacred, until she could deposit it in some restricted or *tapu* place.

Especially sacred was the head of the first-born male. The head of every person, whether man, woman, or child, was regarded as sacred. Vermin that were found in the hair must be eaten by the person whose hair they grew in and never by another. To pass anything over the head of a sacred person or to touch his or her head constituted a grave insult. Especially must nothing that had been associated with women pass above a sacred head. Hence great precautions were taken to prevent a child from getting under a house or from passing under a bed or chair. If a child had gone under a dwelling house, the house had to be burned down immediately. Such *tapu* applied to all children, though not so strictly as to a first-born. One must never step over a child in the Marquesas or allow it to go under a chair or other place where one is sitting. The great attention that is paid to these rules regarding children is based on the fact that, unlike adults, they are unable to safeguard themselves against insults to the sacredness that is embodied in their heads.

Elaborate precautions were taken by adults to protect their heads from insult during life. If by chance tobacco were passed over a man's head, he must smoke it immediately, and the ashes must be buried where women never walked. No one would leave anything that had touched the head where women might by chance walk over it. Hair cuttings were put in streams or in the sea, where they would be washed away, or else in a secred place where they would be protected. An interesting example of such precautions regarding the head is furnished in the matter of the purchase of tortoise-shell crowns. These crowns could not be purchased with land for the reason that they were worn on the head, which was sacred, whereas land was walked on by woman. In other words, the the head that wore the crown would be profaned if the land with which it was bought were trod upon by women.

In the careful preservation of skulls after death and their use in worship is illustrated the close association in belief of the sacredness we have been discussing and the ancestral cult. As the head embodied the sacredness of the ancestral line when a man was alive, so his skull embodied it after he was dead.

Chiefs and priests were in general sacred, especially on Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva. Their houses and their possessions were sacred, and special coconut trees and other things were restricted to their use. All things associated with sacred persons, places, or activities became sacred through

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this association. Thus all of the possessions of chiefs or priests were *tapu*. Likewise all the paraphernalia associated with the sacred place and with worship was *tapu*. (The *tapu* of sacred places is described under Sacred Places of Sepulture and under Sacred Precincts.)

Sacredness of Things

Colors were *tapu* in certain bays and on certain islands, apparently as a result of some priest having declared them sacred to his spirit before his death. (See 14, p. 53). All objects of that color were then *tapu*. The games of stilt-walking and javelin throwing, and the blowing of the conch shell, were forbidden to women.

The offering of first-fruits grew out of a *tapu* of sacredness. The removal of a *tapu* from a catch of fish which released the catch, making it free to be eaten by the people, was accomplished by offering a part of the catch to the gods—this offering of first fruits removed the *tapu* on the catch. Before eating a meal, natives always offered a little food to their ancestral spirits. In the story of Kae there is an account of hunting doves (*kuku*) in the mountains. The first dove killed by the men and women who were hunting was not eaten but was set aside, being *tapu*.

MAKING TAPU

It was in the power of the priest at the tribal temple to restrict, by making sacred, men, animals, houses, land, or any other thing. For example, if a man had a knife that he desired to be made sacred, he could take it to the priest at the temple who would consecrate it for him (19). Whether this was done by means of a ceremony or otherwise is unknown to me, but it seems probable that it was merely a matter of putting the object to be consecrated in contact with some sacred object, such as an image. Anything that had been cut with a knife, that had been made sacred in this way was *tapu*.

Similar to this manner of restricting persons or things by means of consecrating them was the practice of establishing ownership by giving a thing a sacred name. A man could *tapu* anything to himself either by calling it his head or by giving it a sacred name, that was his personal property. Closely related to this was the custom already mentioned by which inspirational priests sometimes declared certain things *tapu* at the time they died. One priest on the occasion of his detah on Uu Pou declared that long hair should be thereafter forbidden for the women of his tribe. Another priest on Nuku Hiva at his death declared that everything red, whether dress or food, was sacred to that priest's spirit and could not be worn or eaten by the common people.

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Kahui were temporary restrictions placed on foods by chiefs, supported by the religious power of the inspirational priest. Such periods of prohibition preceded or followed the great festivals. *Kahui* on a smaller scale were placed by chiefs or other proprietors of land on single plantations, groves, or sometimes on single trees. (See Property).

SEASONAL AND CEREMONIAL TAPU

Closely related to the *kahui* were seasonal *tapu* relating to foods. These differed from the *kahui* in being permanent prohibitions or restrictions. They were established laws, so to speak, and are to be distinguished from the occasional ordinances (*kahui*). Such a restriction was that which forbade fishing during the season when the breadfruit was maturing. (See Fishing.)

What may be called the ceremonial *tapu* amounted to the consecration of the whole tribe during tribal rites or tribal communal labor such as fishing. At such times all the usual activities of life were forbidden: work, the preparation of food, amusements, circulating about the valley, and the making of noise of any kind. According to Dordillon (9) the practices that were strictly forbidden at such times were anointing of the body with coconut oil or *ena*, the use of weapons, top spinning, laughing aloud, lifting the arms over the head, the wearing of colored cloth, eating breadfruit, and bathing. The conception at the basis of the ceremonial *tapu* seems to have been the belief that participation in any other activities on the part of members of the tribe at these times of communal consecration or devotion would interfere with the efficacy of a rite or work that required the whole attention of all the tribe. It may be said that at such times the tribe as a whole was placed under a spell of inactivity lest the work or rites being performed be interfered with. Long peeled poles of the *fau* tree, on the end of which were small flags of white cloth (*tipa*) were the signs of such ceremonial *tapu* at Pua Ma'u. Restricted areas which were devoted to ceremonial, public or private, were indicated elsewhere by means of the same signals.

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CONSECRATED ACTIVITY

Closely related to the ceremonial *tapu* in worship was that which governed all those devoted to the activities connected with any industry. The ceremonial *tapu* discussed above was merely an extension of this, a consecration of the whole tribe when activities of tribal worship were being performed. Only in fishing and war, so far as my information shows, did this consecration apply to the tribe as a whole. It is probable, however, that there was communal *tapu* at the time of other communal enterprises

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such as harvesting. The consecration of workers has been discussed in connection with industries. In the main the object was to protect the workers and hence their work from evil or contaminating influences that might be brought in from outside. All evil influences must be excluded in order to insure the efficacy and successful accomplishment of the work. There was probably also the belief that other activities might conflict with or detract from the efficacy of the consecrated activity.

TAPU ASSOCIATED WITH WOMEN

A woman's head was sacred (*tapu*) but her private parts and all connected with them were defiling. The *tapu* of uncleanness centered about woman as a reproducer. This apparently arises somewhat out of the sacredness of blood—the menstrual blood and blood at delivery. (Cp. the *tapu* on warriors after contact with blood—see War; also the *tapu* of youths after tattooing and incision of the foreskin—see Tattooing and also Rites of Childhood and Youth.) Particularly unclean was a woman at the time of her monthly flow. *Hava i te toto* was a phrase meaning contaminated on account of menstrual blood. A man could not smoke with a woman. [In some places the natives say that a woman could not smoke a man's pipe, but a man could smoke a woman's (9)]; the loin cloth worn by a woman during menstruation could be touched by no one but the woman herself; only a woman's husband could carry her dress or material destined to be used in a dress; a man could not shave a female's head, and vice versa; at the time of delivery, and until after purification by bathing, neither the woman nor the infant could be touched by any but female relatives.

TAPU ASSOCIATED WITH DEATH

In the *tapu* applying to all things connected with death was expressed the fear of the native of evil influences—associated always in his mind with evil spirits—which would bring about sickness and death of the body, and worse still, endanger the well-being of the soul itself. This *tapu* required the destruction of all things associated with a corpse, and the purification of all persons having to do with the dead. The restrictions on warriors, or others who had recently made a killing, belong in the same category. The *tapu* relating to such uncleanness protected that which was sacred from contamination through contact with or by passing beneath that which was unclean. The curse that resulted from defilement was leprosy.

May it not be that this is the basis of the rule that forbade a woman passing over anything sacred? Man was a living earthly embodiment of

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the procreating power, *papa una*, the level above, in creation. Woman embodied the *papa'ao*, the level below. A reversal of this order was the cause of evil. It would seem also that much of the fear of evil influences connected with womankind had to do with the belief of the association with women of evil spirits called *fanaua*. (See Spirits.)

The following are a number of rules illustrative of restrictions relating to uncleanness. A woman could not go on a sacred place reserved for consecrated rites or activities or for *tapu* men; no woman, except a high chiefess or priestess, must ever step on anything *tapu;* a woman must not touch a canoe for fishing or war; a woman could not pass over anyone, not even his feet—nor over household utensils, an oven, a place where water was obtained, a net, or a canoe; she could not bathe her feet in a household utensil; one woman must not put her hand (which was likely to be defiled) on the head of another, nor step over another, nor over the mat of another woman; a woman's and a man's food must be cooked on a different fire or in a different oven; it must be kept in a separate container; food could not be eaten by men in company with women; a woman could not eat *popoi* pounded by her husband, and vice versa.

FOOD RESTRICTIONS

Tapu, partly arbitrary, partly of religious origin, prohibited foods to certain classes. Some foods were forbidden to women—the chicken at all times, pig at certain times, octopus at some places, bananas, coconuts, and coconut milk. One informant stated that a woman could use coconut milk if eating alone, but that if her husband ate it with her, he would be killed in battle.

Other foods were restricted particularly to the priests and gods. The fish called *u'ua* seems to have been sacred everywhere and to have been eaten only by the temple priests and their assistants. At Taiohae in addition to the *u'ua*, the turtle and the fish called *hai* were always taken to the priests at the temple and were eaten by them. The head of the pig was everywhere sacred to the gods and was presented to the priests—if a man ate a pig's head, it was believed that he would be swamped in his canoe and drowned.

A long list of particular foods forbidden to different tribes throughout the group was obtained from the manuscript of Père Pierre (4) and will subsequently be published. These *tapu* foods were fish, birds, or animals that were consecrated to the god of the tribe. It does not appear that there was any conception of a god's being embodied in the sacred object, but rather that it was consecrated to the deity as food. Particular foods were sometimes *tapu* to all except one member of a family when that

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

member bore the name of the food. For example, in Atu Ona a fish called *vahi* was *tapu* to all other members of the family of a man named Vahi but not to the man himself.

PUNISHMENT FOR INFRINGEMENT OF TAPU

The punishment for the breaking of *tapu* was supposed to be sickness, or sudden death in some such manner as by drowning, or by being eaten by sharks. Leprosy was caused by the breaking of the *tapu* relating to defilement. Deep ulcers (*puku*) were supposed to result from eating the fish sacred to the priests and the gods. It was also thought that the breaking of *tapu* established by the tribal priest was punished by curses directed by the priest. An insult to personal *tapu* was punished directly by physical violence, or indirectly through witchcraft.

SICKNESS

SUPPOSED CAUSES OF DISEASE

In general, in the mind of the native there were two basic causes of illness: the breaking of *tapu*, and sorcery. Evil spirits were the immediate cause of most diseases, coming to inflict punishment for broken *tapu* or being sent by some evil worker. Sickness and death resulting from the practice of sorcery (*nani kaha*) seem to have been conceived of as resulting directly in a magical way, rather than through the medium of evil spirits.

Some specific examples of the native belief as to the cause of disease, by no means a complete list, are as follows: Leprosy resulted from pollution, physical or spiritual, by the evil influences which were thought of as being associated with womankind, by contact with menstrual fluid or clothing that had touched a woman's private parts, by passing under a woman's mat or loin cloth. The father of a woman, who is insane, told me that she was so afflicted because she had eaten coconuts from a tree which had been made *tapu* for the manufacture of the oil used with *ena* in dyeing women's loin cloths. A man of Atu Ona believes that he is blind because he ate of a pig, which had been given as a present to his son, the animal being, therefore, *tapu* to the father. To break the *tapu* on sexual intercourse between the male and female students of legends at the time that the students were consecrated to the task of memorizing was supposed to cause blindness. It was believed that certain deep ulcers (*puku*) were the result of eating the fish called *u'ua*, which was *tapu* to the priests, and that other *puku* resulted from the breaking of the *koaho*, the protective spell on property. Violent colics were supposed to result from sorcery, and insanity from the breaking of *tapu*. Children's

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

MANNER OF TEACHING LEGENDS

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The following account of the manner of teaching legends was obtained at Atuona, on the island of Hivaoa. When a father desired to have his son or daughter taught legends (*ha'akekai*) and recitation of genealogy (*mata tetau*) he built in the neighborhood of his own dwelling a large special house (*oho au*) for the purpose, and employed a bard (*tuhuna o'ono*) to instruct the pupils. In this house as many as thirty men and women ranking from twenty to forty years in age would come to participate in the instruction with the lad or girl for whom the *oho au* had been built. All lived at the *oho au* and were instructed in the bard's lore (*tekao tuhuna*). During periods of instruction, the pupils were tapu, being consecrated to the work, and sexual intercourse was prohibited. The infringement of this tapu during instruction was supposed to cause blindness. As youths and maids could not be expected to keep the tapu on sexual intercourse, it was only those whose years exceeded twenty who attended the instructions in the *oho au*.

Periods of consecrated instruction lasted generally one moon; but the *tuhuna*, who decided upon the length of the period upon his own discretion or following the desire of his employer, might shorten the duration.

Recesses between the tapu periods lasted for fifteen days. Though at these times pupils continued to live at the *oho au*, they were free to go and come as they pleased. But all the articles associated with their persons during the time of instruction remained tapu and must not be allowed to come in contact with outsiders. After being released at the beginning of the recess, every individual was obliged to bathe in the sea.

During the consecrated instruction there were two sessions each day, one in the morning and one at night. The *tuhuna* was the master in the *oho au* and had to be obeyed. A woman whose monthly period came on at this time had to absent herself until her recovery. If she concealed her condition, the *tuhuna* always detected it by his skill. He was sometimes angered by such concealment to the extent of stopping the whole process of instruction and refusing to continue his work, leaving the *oho au* and going home. Or he might merely send the woman home.

If a pupil for whom the *oho au* had been built proved to be too stupid or inattentive to learn what was being taught, the *tuhuna* would stop his work and go home. The term *koai* was applied to those who were not sufficiently tapu to be capable of receiving instruction.

After the labor of instruction was completed, the *oho au* was destroyed.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

son, or grandson, takes the lead, and they march in one line for the camp, to the number of two or three hundred. In the same manner we received the contributions of all the other tribes, with this difference only, that all the tribes except those of the valley of Tieuhoy were always preceded by a person bearing a white flag. When I asked Gattanewa why this practice was not adopted by the people of his valley, his reply was, that every body knew we were friends.

Although no external marks of respect were shown to Gattanewa; although he mixed unnoticed in the crowd; although he steered, and sometimes paddled, his own canoe, caught fish for his family, assisted in the construction of canoes, in the formation of household and other utensils, and bore the reputation of being one of the most ingenious and industrious mechanics on the island, still Gattanewa had his rank, and that rank was known and respected. To touch the top of his head, or any thing which had been on his head, was sacrilege. To pass over his head was an indignity never to be forgotten. Gattanewa, nay, all his family, scorned to pass a gateway which is ever closed, or a house with a door; all must be as open and as free as their unrestrained manners. He would pass under nothing which had been raised by the hand of man, if there was a possibility of getting round or over it. Often have I seen him walk the whole length of our barrier, in preference to passing between our water casks; and at the risk of his life scramble over the loose stones of a wall, rather than go through the gateway. The mat on which Gattanewa reposed was held in such respect, that it could not be touched by a female, not even by his wife and family, whose mats in turn were tabooed for those of an inferior class. Indeed there are women, and some of the handsomest on the island, whose parents are considered wealthy and respectable, but they dare not walk or sit on a mat. They are not of royal blood, and this is a prerogative which seems confined to them.

Gattanewa has his servants, who perform for him and his family many domestic services, such as cooking, bringing water, &c. It does not appear, however, that he has any claims on their services; he gives them food, and as long as it suits them they stay. They mix with his family, occupy the same room, and a stranger, on entering the house of Gattanewa, would not know him from one of his domestics.

By the time our village was completed, every thing had been taken out of the frigate, and the powder and provisions deposited on board the prizes. The ship had been thoroughly smoked with charcoal, to destroy the rats, which, on opening the hatches, were found in great numbers dead about the large pots in which the fires were made. Several tubs full of them were collected

6: Lisianshy T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

concerning the customs and manners of the country, and found that she felt her consequence in its full extent. 1804. May.

Having distributed scissars, knives, looking-glasses, and other trifles amongst this royal group, we departed, to proceed to the house of our interpreter, and were introduced, on the way, to the king's grand-child, who is respected as a divinity by the islanders. The infant was exhibited by his uncle, who stood within the inclosure of the house. I expressed a desire that his little highness might be brought to me; but understanding that he was under the law of taboo, which would not permit him to leave the inclosure, I approached him, and presented him with a piece of white cloth. The royal family had accompanied us to this place, as well as the multitude; but of the latter, no one dared to pass within the prohibited boundary.

Our walk to the habitation of Roberts was extremely pleasant, as it extended along an eminence, from whence we had a beautiful view of our ships in the bay, and the plantations of the natives in the valleys. Though the house was not so large as many we had passed, it was well adorned on the outside with different kinds of fruit-trees, which afforded us, after our fatigue, a very acceptable repast. Being refreshed, we visited a burying-ground, which, I must confess, was by no means equal to my expectation. It contained but a few wooden statues, rudely carved, while cocoa-nut shells were strewed in such abundance on the ground, that we were greatly incommoded by them. Roberts informed us, that sacrifices to the dead consisted here of cocoa-nuts; and I observed one quite fresh, on the head of a statue, that was erected over a grave. I observed also the

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the whole of what was served up was dispatched in an instant. His relish of the pancakes was no matter of surprise to me, being aware that savages in general, like children, are fond of sweet things the first time of tasting them; but when I saw him drink port wine, glass for glass, with us, I own I was astonished: he afterwards, however, felt the effects of it in their full force. 1804. May.

The next morning, I received from the queen a message, that if I would send my boat on shore, she would come with some of her relations to see me; adding, that a taboo being imposed on her, she was forbidden to go into a canoe, or to swim. I complied with this agreeable request immediately; and about noon I had the pleasure of seeing the queen, her daughter, and the Goddess of the Bay in my cabin. They remained with us a considerable time, and were regaled with tea, sweetmeats, and other delicacies. Our presents of knives, scissars, and looking-glasses, however, pleased them most, and especially the Goddess of the Bay, who was so enchanted with her reception, that she appeared unwilling to leave the ship. Our royal guests, on this occasion, were dressed in yellow cloth made of the bark of a particular tree, and had their bodies smeared with oil of cocoa-nut, mixed with a kind of yellow paint, which affected our olfactory nerves in no very agreeable way: but this could no more be dispensed with by a Marquesan woman, when full-dressed, than rouge and eau de Cologne by an European lady of fashion. The handsomest of my party was certainly the Goddess, whose name was Anataena. She was a daughter of the king of another bay in the island, called Houmé, and owed her title of divinity to her marriage. These personages having left us, I granted to other females the long desired permission to visit the ship and satisfy their curiosity. 14th.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

342 333 the *paepae*, and then the house floor was walled and filled until level with their tops. Whether the placing of the *ke'etu* took place before or after the paving of the front part of the *paepae*, could not be ascertained. Finally the surface of both parts of the *paepae*, with the exception of the bed space of the house, was paved with flat water-worn stones, those of the house floor being smaller and more carefully selected. Holes for the accommodation of the front posts of the house were frequently left along the front edge of the floor.

342 A curious feature not observed at the present time, is mentioned by Petit-Thouars (48, p. 345) in his description of a chief's house on the island of Tahu Ata. He says, "At either end of the single apartment which forms the house there is a part of the pavement raised about thirty-five centimeters above the rest. These two platforms appear to be more exclusively reserved for the king."

352 One or two stone back rests were a rather common feature of dwelling *paepae* in Hiva Oa. These back rests were simple slabs, usually undressed, set into the pavement of the veranda section and sloping at an angle of about 45 degrees. They were commonly placed at either end of the *paepae* and so arranged that the occupant sat with his side toward the house. One interesting back rest of this sort, of recent construction, was carved from the top of a large stone set in the last course of the *paepae* wall (Pl. XL. *a*, *b*). These objects appear to have been simply a primitive form of easy chair, with no religious or ceremonial significance, but it should be noted that similar back rests were occasionally placed within the bed spaces of houses within the precincts of the *me'ae* of Hiva Oa. When they were arranged in this position they were placed against the back of the house, sloping inward, so that the occupant faced the front of the house. A few stone back rests were observed in Nuku Hiva and Ua Huku but they were uncommon there.

342 In the paved space before the house, many large Nuku Hivan *paepae* have a rectangular pit running down to the original ground level. These pits are lined with stones throughout and were certainly built at the same time as the *paepae*. [784] [778] Two explanations of these pits were given by informants: That they were repositories into which objects that had become tapu were thrown and that they were larders or small *ma* pits. It seems unlikely that they were used as *ma* pits, however, as *ma* can only be preserved properly in pits dug in compact clay soil. Several old informants claimed that they had seen objects which had become tapu through touching the head of the oldest son thrown into such platform pits. In the valley of Hatiheu, Nuku Hiva, a pit of this sort had been used as a burial place for the owner's family, which had been wiped out by an epidemic. The house was afterward burned and the place declared tapu. Similar pits are a constant feature of the simplest form of *me'ae* in Nuku Hiva, but the majority of the *paepae*

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

The climate of the Marquesas is such that clothing is unnecessary as a protection from the cold. The original native dress was a scant costume of tapa. Mats seem also to have been worn but their use was exceptional. The only mention of this custom is by Krusenstern (34, p. 156) who, speaking of the people of Nuku Hiva, says,

> Mats are sometimes used among them, and the king's son-in-law, though indeed he was the only person, always came to the ship in one of a very coarse kind, and fastened under the chin in such a manner as to merely cover the back.

In Hiva Oa the natives seem to have no memory of the use of mats as clothing and in view of the tapu which existed on that island against the use by men of mats other than those made of coconut, it seems doubtful that they ever were worn. This tapu was so strong that in former times straw hats which were considered a kind of mat could not be placed on the head without sacrilege.

TAPA

Tapa was made from the bark of several different trees. The most important is the *ute* or paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera* or *Morus papyrifera*) which yielded a soft white tapa. An inferior greyish tapa was made from the bark of the breadfruit tree, and a strong, mahogany colored tapa, much used in ceremonial costumes, was made from the bark of a species of banyan (*Ficus Sp.*). Jardin (33, pp. 32-59) says that the bark of the *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*) and the *katea* (Alyxia) were also used to a small extent.

The paper mulberry was essentially a cultivated plant, and was probably introduced by the early settlers. It was planted in fenced enclosures and carefully tended. The breadfruit and banyan do not seem to have been grown specially for tapa making, the bark being obtained from shoots and small limbs. A special form of *ute* tapa, made from the bark of an old tree, was worn as part of a priest's ceremonial costume.

IMPLEMENTS USED IN MAKING TAPA

The implements used by the Marquesans in making tapa were scrapers, beaters and anvils.

Scrapers

The scrapers used in the manufacture of tapa were made from pearl shells, rarely more than four inches across, whose edges were ground sharp. In some scrapers the irregularities of the hinge were also ground away to make the implement more convenient to hold, but the natural outlines of the shell seem always to have been retained. They must have formerly been very numer-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

lections are of celluloid and the carving on such objects is often superior to that on those of genuine tortoise shell. There are indications that the traders went even further in the *packaha* trade, for the plaques in a specimen seen in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, seem to have been stamped in a mold. The material used was apparently vulcanized rubber. 292 237 321

Packaha were made by special *tuhuna*, and according to Handy were paid for in pigs. Land was not legal tender in this case, because the *packaha* was worn on the head, and if a woman walked on the land given in payment it would be as though she stepped over the head of the owner of the *packaha*, a great defilement. The holes in the plaques were made with a pump drill and the carvings executed, in ancient times, with rats' teeth. [436] [784]

Packaha were worn by both men and women and in view of the large number preserved in collections it is rather curious that neither Cook nor Fleurieu mention them in their accounts of the southern islands although they speak of other headdresses for whose existence we have little other evidence. This would seem to strengthen the evidence for their Fatu Hivan origin, and it seems probable that they became popular in the other islands of the group only in historic times.

In contrast to this silence in regard to the *packaha* we have an abundance of early references to another sort of shell and tortoise shell headdress, the *uhikana* (Handy). Cook says (14, p. 309-310):

Their principle headdress, and what appears to be their chief ornament, is a sort of broad fillet, curiously made of the fibers of the husks of cocoanuts. In the front is fixed a mother of pearl shell wrought round to the size of a tea saucer. Before that another, smaller, of very fine tortoise shell, and perforated in curious figures. Also before and in the center of that, is another round piece of mother of pearl, about the size of half a crown, and before this another piece of perforated tortoise shell the size of a shilling. Beside this decoration in front, some have it also on each side, but in smaller pieces; and all have fixed to them the tail feathers of cocks or tropic birds, which, when the fillet is tied on, stand upright; so that the whole together makes a very sightly ornament.

Plate LXXXI, *C* shows the back of one of these ornaments and the inside of the head band. The bands were plaited in the same way as those of the *packaha*. The pearl shell, of the largest size available, was ground to a regular outline and drilled near the center with two or more holes for attachment.

A very fine specimen, now in the Peabody Museum of Salem, is shown on Plate LXXXII, *C*. The final disc of tortoise shell is missing—possibly it was never there. The design on the large tortoise shell disc is of the same general type as that illustrated by Cook (14, p. 310). There are indications that two distinct conventions were employed in the carving of these discs.

One convention was characterized by a round disc with elaborate tracery, and an absence of human figures. In the other the disc was oval and from the top center rose two large hooks, with their tips pointing outward. Radiating from the center of the oval were six rather large tiki heads, with the spaces between cut away. Bordering the oval, and joining the tops of the heads, was a continuous band, toothed on the outer edge and delicately pierced and traced. *Uhikana*, in which the oval discs were used, seem usually to have had the ends of the bands covered with plates of mother of pearl and tortoise shell like those used on *packea*. Those with round discs lacked the plates. It seems probable that these conventions represent local

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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343 784 Near this dwelling house, but at ground level, there was a separate house for cooking and eating. Cooked food, being non-taboo, was kept away from the house so that it would not injure the *mana* of the house or its inhabitants. There was also a storehouse for food and for taboo objects. This was usually elaborately decorated, raised on posts, and set at some distance from the main dwelling. The old men past sexual age spent much of their time here, very often sleeping in the storehouse. The storehouse was taboo to women, and young men could enter only after a considerable period of sexual abstinence.

778 There was also, as part of each household establishment, a sacred place. Sometimes this was a small house on a high platform, sometimes only a curtained end of the sleeping house. [769] The sacred place was used in connection with the treatment of the dead, and for keeping ancestral skulls and sacred objects. [531] The dwelling house and storehouse were elaborately decorated with carvings on the posts and dyed sennit laid on in elaborate patterns on the rafters.

592 428 611 This establishment, representing a considerable outlay of labor, was inherited by the eldest child, unless the household was rich enough to build a new establishment for the heir. Even if the eldest child was a girl, she might inherit the household; there are numerous cases of women who became hereditary family heads, although households frequently adopted a boy for this position. The younger children had none save occupational rights in the household, although they did own the trees which were planted for them at the time of their birth.

592 611 The eldest child of either sex, or the child who was adopted to take the position of the eldest, became the official head of the household from the moment of birth or arrival. One is [773] struck by the fact that in the Marquesan myths the story of a man always ends when his first child is born; after this event, he drops out of the picture and the saga continues with the [554] adventures of the child. Of course, in practice, the father administered the household group until the child reached matur-

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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over captives. Women could prevent wars if they so desired. They had only to announce, "This road I name after my genitals," and any man who passed that way was certain to be killed. The inspirational priests took omens before the warriors went into battle to determine whether or not the time was favorable, and the ceremonial priests performed sacrifices.

None of these war expeditions was at any great distance. The war might be with a tribe which lived only a mile away. The fighters would frequently call a halt for meal times, and fighting usually was stopped before dark, as there were unpleasant demons abroad after nightfall. In the valley of Taipee, which is only six miles long and half a mile wide, there were three tribes which had been at war with one another for generations. Since individual head hunting and raiding to take captives for sacrifices went on continuously between formal wars, the people of the valley lived in a constant state of jitters.

Formal wars were declared by the chief, and the forces were mustered under the leadership of the *toa* or skilled warriors. There was no drilling or military instruction. The battles in the field were merely scrimmages directed by the *toa,* or individual combats, the object of which was to get the body of the enemy. There was one old gentleman in the valley in which I lived who had been the proud possessor of a whaling harpoon with a rope attached. He had achieved a great reputation as a warrior with this weapon, for with it he could spear a man and haul him back in record time.

Small raids were carried on at any time. A favorite trick was for a party to go by war canoe to a valley and land two or three men under cover of night. At dawn the raiders would creep into the village and pick off any early risers who came out of their houses. They would rush their captives back to the shore, signal the war canoes, and be off before the rest of the village was awake.

Each valley had its fort, or forts, which were usually built on high spurs in the mountains. Here the chief, protected by a special guard, took refuge along with the old women and chil-

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764 the southern islands, the process was carried on right in the house, with the daily life of the family going on around the corpse, which lay upon a bier. The family would carry the body out into the sun and rub it down with oil, then carry it back into the house when the sun went down. When mummification was fairly complete, they dressed the body in its best clothes and seated it in a squatting position with the arms crossed and the chin on the knees. They held it in place with wooden supports and kept it sitting so in the most honored section of the house until after the memorial ceremony. The remains, usually in a fairly disreputable condition by this time, were then taken to the shrine of the tribal gods and turned over to the ceremonial priests for final disposition. No one but the priests knew what really became of these bodies. An old man who had been an assistant to a ceremonial priest told me that he had helped to carry the bodies away but was never permitted to be present at the final disposal. The heads were often removed and saved, and also a few of the long bones would be selected to be worked up into ornaments for relatives of the deceased as pleasant mementos.

769 The skulls of the chiefs were kept in the temple and brought
778 out from time to time to adorn the prows of the war canoes to give them *mana,* or were exposed in the fishing house to aid in bringing a favorable catch. Skulls of family heads were returned to the household, where they were kept in the family shrine—either a small house outside, associated with the death house, or a curtained-off end of the dwelling with shelves. Sometimes faces of bark cloth were built upon the skulls and painted with the personal tattooing of the individual.

778 Each tribe had one or more sacred places hidden far back
784 in the hills. These places were taboo to most men and to all
152 but the few highest ranking women of the tribe. The power of this taboo was demonstrated to me by a strange experience. A man of about fifty-two or three had volunteered to take me to one of these sacred places, the central shrine for one of the two big divisions of the tribes on the island of Hiva Oa. The man

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was apparently uneasy about his promise, and went up to the sacred place alone on the day before he was to take me. He came back looking very ill, said that he had seen a spirit and was going to die. He took to his bed and three days later he was dead, apparently scared to death.

In each of these sacred places there was a sacred grove, a series of platforms with images, etc. Near the house of the inspirational priest was a curious structure shaped like an obelisk, fifteen feet on a side and sixty feet high. At the tribal assembly place there was another sacred place which was open to all and used for small and unimportant sacrifices. Human sacrifices were all carried on in the sacred groves back in the hills. Some one tribal god was always in the ascendancy at any given time, the dominance shifting with the result of the oracles given by his inspirational priest and with the god's power to fulfill the demands of his followers. In other words, the god most worshipped was the one who worked most effectively; he was usually a deity recently dead.

The priesthood was highly organized with two classes, the inspirational and the ceremonial. Each important god had his own inspirational priest, although two or three lesser gods might share a priest among them. The inspirational priests of the highest gods outranked even the tribal chief. These priests were graded in duties and power in accordance with the importance of the god they served. Women could be inspirational priests but were rarely possessed by a god of high rank. The inspirational priest demonstrated his fitness for the office by being possessed by the spirit of the god immediately after the death of the previous priest of this particular god, or immediately after the deification of a new god. In other words, as soon as a vacancy in the priesthood occurred, everyone would be waiting expectantly to see who would become possessed. The individual thus chosen was seized with violent twitchings, made strange sounds, and finally, after emerging from the hysterical seizure, pronounced an oracle.

The inspirational priests of the higher gods were thought to